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VOL. XIX, No. 21

MONDAY, APRIL 12, 1926

WHOLE NO. 524

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THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY ONCE AGAIN

The Loeb Classical Library was discussed last in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* in 18.161-163, 168-171, 181-182 (April 6, 20, 27, 1925). Since that time many volumes of the Library have been issued.

(1) Homer, *The Iliad*, II. By Augustus T. Murray, of Stanford University. Pp. v + 644.

Volume 2 of Professor Murray's translation of the *Iliad* contains Books 13-24. The Index of Proper Names, with all names given in Greek, covers pages 625-644. It makes accessible many details relating to the more important personages. The references are given in the following form: "xvi.535; xx.474; xxi.545, 479, 595, 600". This is a very much better plan than the plan of citing the books of the *Iliad* by the capital letters of the Greek alphabet, the books of the *Odyssey* by the small letters of that alphabet. To one who is working constantly at the Homeric poems the latter plan is clear enough, exactly as the mysteries of a filing system are plain simplicities to the clerk who does the filing every day. To others, who must stop to translate the letters into numbers, the plan causes needless confusion and delay, and so is irritating.

An even better plan than Professor Murray's would be to use Arabic numerals. 18 and 23 are clearer and less consumptive of space than xviii and xxiii. Such references as Il. 18.320 and Od. 23.110 no one could misunderstand.

For a notice of Volume 1 of Professor Murray's translation of the *Iliad* see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 18.181-182. For the first volume of his translation of the *Odyssey* see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 13.161.

(2) Lucian, IV. By A. M. Harmon, of Yale University. Pp. vii + 422.

With this volume, the fourth of eight, Professor Harmon has completed half of his translation of Lucian. The contents of the volume are as follows:

<Prefatory> Note (v); Anacharsis, or Athletics (1-69); Menippus, or The Descent into Hades (71-109); On Funerals (111-131); A Professor of Public Speaking (133-171); Alexander the False Prophet (173-253); Essays in Portraiture (255-295); Essays in Portraiture Defended (297-335); The Goddess of Surrye (337-411).

To text and translation of each piece Professor Harmon prefixes a page of illuminating remarks concerning the setting of the piece, its nature, and its purpose. In the Introduction to the Essays in Portraiture and in that to The Goddess of Surrye, he comments on the difficulty of translating Lucian. Of The Goddess of Surrye he writes thus (337):

An account of the worship of "Juno" (Atargatis) at Hieropolis in Syria, done, not in Lucian's customary Attic Greek, but in the Ionic dialect, after the manner of Herodotus, which Lucian counterfeits so

cleverly and parodies so slyly that many have been unwilling to recognize him as the author.

It would be most unfair to Lucian to turn this tale into contemporary English. In order to have the same effect that it had in his own day, and to be really intelligible, it must seem to come from the lips of an ancient traveller. The version here offered seeks to secure that effect through mimicry of Sir John Mandeville. It is true that Herodotus was better known in Lucian's time than Mandeville is known now, and his language seemed less remote. In every other respect, however—in his limited vocabulary, in his simple style, and in his point of view—Mandeville provides a mask uniquely adapted to the part—if only its wearer does not fall down in it and break it.

This volume was reviewed in *The Classical Review* 39.193 (November-December, 1925), by Mr. A. S. Owen. Mr. Owen does not approve Professor Harmon's rendering of The Goddess of Surrye. On the other hand, in *Classical Philology* 20.352 (October, 1925), Professor Paul Shorey, while disclaiming ability "to pass on the accuracy of Professor Harmon's pastiche", says:

... I can only testify that it deliciously reproduces the effect of Lucian's imitation or parody of the manner and dialect of Herodotus of which, as Mr. Harmon justly says, the English reader could otherwise have no conception...

To this piece, Professor Harmon appends many notes, some of which are, for the Loeb Classical Library, extensive, "because Lucian's topic here is outside the ordinary classical range..."

For notices of preceding volumes of this translation see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 6.223, 12.50, 13.189.

(3) Polybius, IV. By W. R. Paton. Pp. v + 564.

The fourth volume of Mr. Paton's translation of Polybius contains versions of the extant fragments of Books 9-15, and an Index (in English: 559-564). There is much material here of interest and value to the student of Livy. By way of illustration I mention just two matters. In 9.22.7-9.26.11 there is a very interesting discussion of the character of Hannibal, which it is worth while to set beside the less robust and less discriminating discussion of the same fascinating theme by Livy (21.4). The other is Polybius's account (11.1-3) of the Battle of the Metaurus, in which Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal, was defeated and killed, and Hannibal's hopes of ultimate victory over the Romans were at the same time slain. Colonel Spaulding relied largely on this passage in his account of the Battle of the Metaurus, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 19.8 (in his article on Warfare, Ancient and Modern).

For notices of the earlier volumes of this translation of Polybius see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 16.193, 17.170.

(4) Xenophon, *Scripta Minora*. By E. C. Marchant. Pp. xlvi + 464.

The contents of this volume are as follows:

Introduction (vii-xlvii); Hiero (1-57); Agesilaus (59-133); Constitution of the Lacedaemonians (135-189); Ways and Means (191-231); On the Cavalry Commander (233-293); On the Art of Horsemanship (295-363); On Hunting (365-457); Index (459-464).

The Index, all in English, is oddly arranged. It is in reality a series of Indexes, all short (too short) to the several pieces. The pieces, with their individual Indexes, are given in the order in which they appear in the body of the book. A single control index (much more ample) to all the pieces in the volume would be better, by far.

In the Introduction (vii-ix) Mr. Marchant unhesitatingly declares that Xenophon was the author of all the pieces translated in this volume, save, perhaps, one. This possible exception, the treatise On Hunting, he discusses in detail (xxxvi-xliii). He sums up thus (xlii): . . . The style does not in the least suggest Xenophon: much of the matter, both in the technical part and in the epilogue, does suggest him. . . .

On pages ix-xiii there is a discussion of the extent to which these treatises were read and used in classical antiquity. The seven treatises are then considered in order (xiii-xliii), with reference to their dates, their purpose, etc. On pages xliii-xlii there is an account of the manuscripts, editions, and translations.

Mr. Marchant writes very well of Xenophon's style, of his special mastery of certain subjects, especially horses, riding, and the command of cavalry, and of his general purpose in writing.

The paths of scholarship are beset with pitfalls. On page xi Mr. Marchant writes thus of the pieces called On the Cavalry Commander and On the Art of Horsemanship:

. . . Cato the Censor, as we know from Cicero, read, and highly esteemed Xenophon. The method of the opening of Cato's *de Re Rustica* has given rise to a suspicion that he had included these two treatises in his studies. Considering the age at which Cato began Greek, he must have found the *Horsemanship* "a tough proposition", if he actually tackled it.

Everybody knows the familiar passages (Cicero, *De Senectute* 3, 26, *Academica* 2.5; Quintilian 12.11.23) which state that Cato began the study of Greek in his old age. But I had supposed that scholars had ceased to accept these utterances at their face value. In view of what we read even in the ancient authors of Cato's acquaintance with Greek literature, and, more especially, in view of the deductions and inferences of modern scholars with respect to that acquaintance, the statements of Cicero and Quintilian cannot be true. They sounded well in ancient days, as they have to hosts of modern students of the Classics¹: hence they have been repeated over and over, as many another fiction has been repeated for a like reason. Plutarch saw the truth, but even he was unable to discard entirely the time-worn, but entertaining story. In his *Cato Maior* 2, he tells a tale² which, if true, proves that

¹In the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*¹¹, 5.535, in the article Cato, Marcus Porcius (unsigned), occurs this sentence: " . . . It was not till his eightieth year that he made his first acquaintance with Greek literature". Thus is a fine-sounding tale made to have an even finer sound!!

²A like tale, with different names, however, is told by Cicero, *Cato Maior* (*De Senectute*) 30. F. Leo, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, 1.291, note 1 (Berlin, Weidmann, 1913), calls this a

Cato knew Greek before he was twenty-five years of age. Indeed, the very story, accepted by everybody, that Cato brought to Rome Ennius, the man of the *tria corda*, one of which beyond all doubt he owed to his knowledge of Greek, a knowledge which *he*, surely, did not wait to old age to acquire, is in itself enough to dispose of the tale told by Cicero and Quintilian. Plutarch, later in the same chapter, writes thus³:

. . . Further than this, it is said, he did not learn Greek till late in life, and was quite well on in years when he took to reading Greek books; then he profited in oratory somewhat from Thucydides, but more from Demosthenes. However, his writings are moderately embellished with Greek sentiments and stories, and many literal translations from the Greek have found a place among his maxims and proverbs.

It would seem, then, that Plutarch, after giving the truth in this chapter, that Cato knew Greek in his early manhood, then gave the traditional story, as a juicy morsel, and, finally, once more brought himself down to earth and to the facts.

Without going further afield, then, one may say, without hesitation, that the traditional story that Cato began the study of Greek in his old age is untrue. Such scholars as J. S. Reid (in his edition of Cicero, *Cato Maior*, page 22 [Cambridge University Press, 1890]), and the revisers of Teuffel, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*⁴, § 118.4 (Leipzig, Teubner, 1916) might well have expressed themselves with less reserve in their doubts of the tradition. My colleague, Professor F. G. Moore, in his edition of Cicero, *De Senectute*, page 17, § 11 (American Book Company, 1903), wrote far better. In a footnote to this paragraph he puts the matter better still:

. . . There is no reason to believe that Cato first learned Greek in his old age. However indifferent to literature in its highest forms, the mind of Cato was too active to rest content with any door closed. Cf. Ricci, *Catone nell' opposizione alla cultura greca e ai grecheggianti*, Palermo, 1895; Cortese, *M. Porci Catonis Vita*, etc., Savona, 1882, p. 26; Jäger, *Marcus Porcius Cato*, Gütersloh, 1892, p. 56.

(5) The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, II. By David Magie. Pp. xliiv + 485.

The contents are as follows:

Introduction: The Authorship and Date of the *Historia Augusta* (vii-xxxvi); Bibliography (xxxvii-xliv); Caracalla (2-31); Geta (32-47); Opellius Macrinus (48-81); Diadumenianus (82-103); Elagabulus (104-177); Severus Alexander (178-313); The Two Maximini (314-379); The Three Gordians (380-447); Maximus and Balbinus (448-485).

Professor Magie's sane and lucid discussion of the authorship of the Biographies included in this volume—a very intricate problem—cannot be abstracted here. It should be read in full.

Of the first volume of this translation mention was made in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.215, 16.193.

(To be continued)

CHARLES KNAPP

"Fiktion", which "man darf nicht verwenden, von frühere griechische Studien Catos machzuweisen . . ." Where my studies have crossed Leo's, I have found myself more often in disagreement with him than in harmony.

³I use Professor Perrin's version (Loeb Classical Library).

VERGIL AS A PROPAGANDIST¹

It is interesting in this age of propaganda to note that the force of this means of influencing public opinion was fully appreciated by Augustus Caesar, one of the most wily politicians of all times.

Between 133 and 31 B.C., Italy had witnessed twelve civil wars and a long series of political murders. With the loss of civil control over the military forces, the commanders of the armies of Rome were successively masters of the city. Octavian was only the last victor in the long struggle.

Men of Octavian's own time were very far from feeling that his victory was in itself an occasion for thanksgiving. Octavian fully appreciated this, and realized the tremendous task which lay before him. If ever events called for effective propaganda to make the necessary mental adjustment between ruler and people, this was the time.

Oratory and free speech had died with the Republic. Literature was the only means left for influencing public opinion. Augustus availed himself of it freely and collected about him a group of eminent writers. Publius Vergilius Maro became the poetic pillar of the reign.

Aside from his great ability as a poet, Vergil was eminently fitted for the task. His high ideals and integrity were known to the people. He was deeply under obligation to Augustus, and as an Italian he was not unalterably attached to the old order of things.

Pollio, at once literary statesman and adviser to Caesar, was charmed with Vergil's Eclogues, and suggested to Caesar how Vergil's genius could be utilized. Augustus immediately annexed the poet for his more urgent and material ends. The result was the Georgics, dealing with the struggles for existence between the strong and the weak, the potency of rural, domestic economy, the insanity of war and party strife, and the wisdom and duty of loyalty to Caesar—propaganda both pointed and timely.

Augustus was highly pleased with the Georgics, and began to talk to Vergil of a greater work, one which should crown Vergil's efforts as a poet, and incidentally make the accomplishments of Augustus immortal—a plan that resulted in the Aeneid.

The Empire was now an accomplished fact. Out of chaos and bloodshed had come order and peace. Augustus had brought this about. He was making Italy one, and was bringing the whole world under his sway, but he needed Vergil's talents to win the satisfaction of the people. The people must be made to appreciate the vastness and the might of the Empire which the crafty nephew of Julius had won for himself, beneath the cliffs of Actium, against the powers of the East.

Augustus wished also to convince the world that his marvellous success was due to the direct favor of heaven, that the principate which he had established was the preordained event to which Rome and the Romans had been slowly moving during the long

centuries of their history, and that the blessing of the gods rested upon him and his work. Thus would Augustus tighten his own hold on the Empire.

We need not doubt the Emperor's sincerity in all this. The restoration of the Roman religion became one of the ruling passions of his life. Due honor to the gods, both great and small, was his cardinal principle in dealing with religion. He confirmed religion in the form in which he had found it. Augustus wished Vergil to put this religion vividly before the people, to make them aware of its antiquity and of its unchanging character through the ages. He foresaw how religion thus firmly established could lend itself to the keener patriotic appreciation by the people of the Empire, and to their readier acceptance of him as their divinely appointed ruler.

As the head of this holy Roman Empire and the protector of the ancient religion, the Emperor wished to be recognized as descended from the Julian line, which traced its ancestry through Julius to Aeneas, and through Aeneas to the gods themselves.

The great Emperor must be divine, though Caesar-worship was not at first encouraged by Augustus, and was, indeed, for a time forbidden in Italy. Actual deification was everywhere forbidden during the lifetime of the Emperor. Yet the Emperor was the strongest bond of union between the component parts of the Empire. As this feeling grew in intensity from year to year, Augustus at length recognized that the identification of himself with Rome and the Empire for purposes of public worship was a source of incalculable strength to the Empire—and to himself.

In the Life of Vergil² prefixed to the commentary on Vergil written by Valerius Probus (first century A.D.), we read that Vergil, having begun the Aeneid during the Cantabrian War and having continued the work with great industry, was rewarded by Augustus with 10,000,000 sesterces (usque ad sestertium centiens honoratus est).

In the Life of Vergil originally prefixed to the commentary on Vergil ascribed to Donatus (fourth century A.D.), but now believed by scholars to be the work of Suetonius, perhaps condensed, there is a statement (§ 19) that Vergil early began a work on the *Res Romanae*, but soon discarded the work, because the material was unsuitable, and wrote the Bucolics, in honor of Pollio, Alfenus Varus, and Cornelius Gallus. Next, says Suetonius, Vergil wrote the Georgics to please Maecenas and Pollio, who had helped him in his difficulties in connection with his farm. Last of all, continues the record, Vergil undertook the Aeneid, built somewhat on the pattern of Homer, which was to contain the origin of the Roman city and of the house of Augustus. The fame of the poem, while it was yet in process of construction, was so great that Propertius

¹I discussed the ancient *Vitae Vergilianae* in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 11.2-3. For convenience, I note here that they can be studied most conveniently in the following works: *Vitae Vergilianae*, by Jacob Brümmer (marred by carelessness and inaccuracies; published by Teubner, Leipzig, 1912); *Die Vitae Vergilianae und ihre Antiken Quellen*, Ernst Diehl (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1911; handy and inexpensive); *Ancient Lives of Vergil: An Essay on the Poems of Vergil in Connection with his Life and Times*, Henry Nettleship (Oxford University Press, 1870; unfortunately out of print). C. K. >

²This paper was read at the Sixth Annual Fall Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at the George Washington University, Washington, D. C., November 29, 1924.

(2.34.65-66) did not hesitate to say that a greater work than the *Iliad* was in the making.

Suetonius says (§ 31) that Augustus, while he was away on the Cantabrian expedition, wrote to the poet and urged that the first draft of the *Aeneid*, so far as it was completed, should be sent to him. When three books, the second, the fourth, and the sixth, were finally finished, Vergil read them to Augustus and Octavia; when Octavia heard the words, *Tu Marcellus eris*, she fainted (§§ 31-32). Vergil read to his friends portions of the poem about which he was in doubt, that he might have the advantage of their judgment (§ 33).

Servius, in his Life of Vergil, prefixed to his commentary on the *Aeneid*, says:

'When Vergil had lost his farm, he came to Rome, and, under the patronage of Pollio and Maecenas, regained it. Then Pollio proposed to him that he write the *Bucolics*, a work which he wrote and emended in three years. Then Maecenas proposed the *Georgics*, which Vergil wrote and emended in seven years. Afterwards he wrote the *Aeneid*, at the suggestion of Augustus, in eleven years, but he did not emend or publish it. On his death bed he ordered it to be burned. But Augustus, that so great a work might not perish, ordered Tucca and Varius to publish it, with the admonition that they were neither to add nor to take away anything.'

In the Appendix Serviana³ there are prefixed to the commentary on the *Bucolics* two Lives of Vergil, both of which contain the statements that Vergil, on account of the merit of his poems, and because he was recommended by his reputation and his friendship with influential men, recovered his lost farm by the help of Augustus, and thereafter enjoyed the intimate friendship of the Emperor, and that, finally, he wrote the *Aeneid* in honor of Augustus in order that he might celebrate in his poem the fame of Aeneas, from whose family Augustus desired to claim descent.

In Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.24.11, we read that Vergil himself once wrote to Augustus thus:

'I am receiving frequent letters from you concerning my *Aeneid*. If indeed I had anything worthy of your hearing I should gladly send it, but so great is the theme I have begun to treat that I seem to myself almost bereft of my senses ever to have undertaken it.'

The *Aeneid* was undoubtedly the largest and most important work of propaganda undertaken by Vergil. From the suggestions of the commentators already quoted, and from other evidence, as well as from a reading of the poem, it is possible to group under three general headings the purposes which Augustus undoubtedly sought to accomplish in urging Vergil to write the poem.

(1) To increase the faith of the people in the old religion, and through a revival of the ancient customs and morals to lend stability to the Empire.

(2) To blazon forth the greatness of Rome.

(3) To trace the divine origin of Augustus, and, by providing a divine sanction for his rule, to overcome opposition to that rule, and so to strengthen Augustus's position.

³The Appendix Serviana may be found in the edition of Servius by G. Thilo and H. Hagen, Volume 3, *Fasciculus II*. This *Fasciculus*, edited by Hagen, was published by Teubner, Leipzig, in 1902. C. K. >

We shall discuss in order the three sets of purposes.

(1) The *Aeneid* is generally regarded as the richest source of our knowledge of Roman religion and moral feeling. In it the creed of Rome appears freed in great part from the overgrowth of Greek mythology. Whatever Vergil's own attitude toward the gods may have been, the gods were necessary to the Roman religion.

The national idea of Rome was associated with belief in the divine origin of the city. The confidence of the Romans in themselves was intimately connected with their religious feelings and beliefs. Pride of birth and reverence for ancestors were very powerful and prevailing sentiments. Vergil appealed to such sentiments when in the *Aeneid* he not only recognized the descent of the Romans from Mars, but established their relation to 'Golden' Venus and thus traced their origin back to the King of Gods and Men.

Vergil aimed to show that the great Empire which had had its beginnings in Aeneas and its culmination in Augustus was no mere work of human hands, but had been designed and built up in accordance with divine purpose.

Back of the action in the *Aeneid* is the whole supernatural machinery of the Olympian gods engaged either in furthering or in hindering the destiny of Rome. These Gods make and unmake kingdoms and individuals: men and nations are mere playthings in their hands. Vergil did not wish to bring these objects of popular belief into disrepute. His gods are a little less fleshly than those of Homer and have more dignity of demeanor. But they are still absolutely regardless of individual happiness; Juno and Venus, the two most active among them, are not at all scrupulous in the means they employ to attain their ends. Vergil, however, tries to give the impression that the ways of the gods are above man's questioning; that it is for man to obey and that he is fortunate if, through long suffering, he at last gains reconciliation with the gods.

He emphasizes the idea that it is useless for man to fight against the divine will, useless for him to put his trust in the gods if they are hostile. We can easily sympathize with the futility of fighting against the divine will, for to us the divine will means justice. But the Roman gods had no sense of justice. Juno, Neptune, Pallas, and even Jupiter seek to cause the fall of Troy. Venus will go to any length to aid her son; she even resorts to the trickery which ended in the death of unhappy Dido. Juno with implacable hatred buffets the Trojans. Venus brings all her influence to bear to save them. To us it is a strange religion, but it was the only religion the Romans had, and it was the religion Augustus was so desirous of saving.

But the Romans recognized, as superior to the gods of Olympus, an ever-present, awe-inspiring, invisible power, manifesting itself by arbitrary signs, exacting rigorously certain definite observances, capable of being alienated for a time by any deviation from these observances, and of being again appeased by a right reading of its will and humble compliance therewith. The influence of this power was acknowledged through-

out all Roman history by the importance attached to the great priestly offices, especially to that of Pontifex Maximus, to which Augustus had had himself appointed for life, by the scrupulous regard paid to the auspices, through which this power was believed to communicate its will, by the ominous interpretation put on every appearance of departure from the ordinary course of nature, and by the reference to the Sibylline books in all questions of difficulty.

In the Aeneid this undefined power is represented by the word *fatum* (*Fatum*) or *fata* (*Fata*). It is by the Fates that action is set in motion and directed to its issue. In Vergil's poem men and the immortal gods are alike mere instruments in their hands, some conscious of the part they are playing, others unwitting. Even the King of the Gods is represented as cognizant of the Fates rather than as controlling them.

The instances of control of human affairs by the Fates are indeed numerous. In Aeneid 1-3, according to Sellar, the word *Fatum* or *Fata* occurs more than forty times⁴. In the prominence which is given to this determining element in national affairs the Aeneid expresses the strongest and most abiding belief of the Roman people.

We must recall that the object of Aeneas's wanderings is not only to found a city, but to establish a new home for his gods. Over and over again, we read that *pius Aeneas* is carrying along with him his *Penates*, rescued from burning Troy, and that his patriotic duty now is to find a suitable dwelling-place for the gods of Troy. Vesta, the goddess of the hearth and the champion of pure and moral domestic life, is the goddess Vergil gives especially into the keeping of Aeneas.

The influence of the religious idea of the poem is seen also in the leading characteristic of the hero, *pius Aeneas*. His *pietas* appears in the faith which he has in his mission and in the trust which he has in divine guidance. Prayer is his first recourse in all emergencies, as it was his father's; sacrifice and thanksgiving are the accompaniments of all his escapes from danger and difficulty. Other actors, e.g. Dido, Turnus, Pallas, Latinus, also have frequent recourse to prayer.

The religious idea is further stressed in the importance attached to special revelations, visions, prophecies, omens, and the like. *Pius Aeneas* always gives willing obedience to a vision sent by the gods, or by the ghost of his father⁵.

In the Aeneid the gods are frequently permitted to take on mortal guise. From the frequent occurrence of this idea, the reader is somehow impressed with the possibility that Augustus is a god walking the earth in human form. Horace certainly sets forth this notion clearly in his Odes (see *Carmina* 1.2).

The worship of the dead, and the belief in their reappearance on earth and of their continued interest in human affairs are among the most ancient and enduring

of all supernatural beliefs. These ideas, too, we find in the Aeneid, with indications of the earliest form of these beliefs and of the ceremonies to which they gave birth.

The whole of Book 6 is inspired by a feeling for the greater spiritual life which awaits man beyond the grave. In the Aeneid the dead do not appear as unsubstantial inhabitants of a shadowy world, but as partakers in a more august and righteous dispensation than that under which mortals live.

It should further be noticed that the gods of Vergil are all *Roman* gods. Augustus was very anxious to suppress all foreign rituals. He had already forbidden the worship of Apis and he was known to frown on Judaism.

The whole tendency of Vergil's vivid treatment of the Roman gods was to increase the faith of the people in the work of the gods, to impress his readers with their actual existence and their interest in the affairs of the Romans. Having presented religion thus to the people, it was comparatively easy for Vergil to emphasize the selection of Augustus as the divinely appointed Emperor. The effect would be to quell any revolutionary tendencies and to bring about Caesar's peaceful occupation of the throne, which in the end would make for the peace and the prosperity of the holy Roman Empire.

(2) Vergil sounds the praise of mighty Rome, the city which, from insignificant beginnings, slowly but inevitably, in spite of many obstacles, had become mistress of the world, in accordance with the will of the gods and under their protection.

It is evident to even the most casual reader of the Aeneid that this idea of the greatness of Rome underlies the whole poem. In a way this policy of Augustus is included with the other two, that is, any passage which magnifies the power of the Emperor, and glorifies the ancient religion and the old honored customs must at the same time sound forth the greatness of Rome.

The first book of the Aeneid is the most fruitful in passages which specifically set forth the idea of the destined greatness of Rome. At the very outset, in 1.1-33, Vergil outlines his plan for setting forth the greatness of Rome. The blood of Troy, from which Augustus claimed descent, was destined to found a nation which should rule over broad realms, be glorious in war, and overcome Libya. It must have given the Roman reader a sense of pride to learn that Rome was, from the beginning, destined by the gods to overcome her hated rival Carthage.

There is one passage, of less than seventy lines (1.229-296), that supports all three points—perhaps the best propaganda passage in the whole poem. It contains praise of Rome, and an outline of the course pre-destined for her by the Fates. Here Jupiter himself promises to the Romans empire without limit, either in time or in place, and renown in peace as well as in war. This passage traces for Augustus and the Julian line direct descent from Aeneas, and hence from the Gods. It makes the principate of Augustus the Golden Age

⁴W. Y. Sellar, *The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age: Virgil*, 338 (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1883).

⁵See the paper by Miss E. Adelaide Hahn, *Aeneid 2.781 and Aeneid 3 Again: Aeneas's Attitude Towards Visions*, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14.122-126. C. K. >

toward which Rome has been progressing; it suggests, too, that Augustus is destined to deification, that the ancient faith will be in control, and that Vesta will come again into her own.

In several passages, Vergil announces the destined glory and the eternal fame of Rome. In the Temple of Apollo, at Delos, the oracle promises to the Romans universal sovereignty (3.94-98). In a vision the Penates appear to Aeneas in Crete, where the Trojans have attempted a settlement through a misunderstanding of Phoebus; the Penates declare that the posterity of the Trojans will be raised to the stars and that imperial sway will crown their city (3.154-171). The oracle of Faunus predicts to Latinus the wondrous glory that is to come to the race destined to arise from the union of Aeneas and Lavinia (7.96-101).

I think it was with the purpose of emphasizing the idea that Rome and Italy were to be united and thus together form the center of civilization that Vergil undertook to describe the pageant of the forces of the enemy (7.601-817). He wished to move the feelings of his Italian reader as that reader sees the stately procession of Italian warriors passing before him, or perchance to fill his mind with pride and pleasure at finding among them the ancient representatives of his own city or district⁶.

Vergil's task was difficult. All the warriors in the procession were enemies of the Trojans; they had been summoned to resist the establishment in Italy of Aeneas and the Trojans. The poet had to hold firmly together the sympathies of Romans and Italians, for Italy was not in Vergil's day a unified whole. Only twenty years before Vergil was born, the peoples of Central Italy had been engaged in deadly strife with Rome, and had forced her to acknowledge their equality. The Italian policy of Augustus was plainly a new policy. In this episode Vergil doubtless believed himself to be aiding it.

Vergil was forced to compromise between treating the Italians too plainly as the enemies of the Roman spirit and empire, and engaging his reader's sympathy too absolutely for Aeneas and the invaders. This he accomplishes by keeping the solemn destiny of Rome before us, while he shows the flower and the vigor of Italy in a series of splendid pictures. By the time the reader reaches Book 7, he has been so firmly convinced by the poet of the destiny of Rome that this definite impression cannot be obliterated by any amount of Italian heroism in the rest of the poem. Then, too, in the first part of Book 7, it is made plain that this war has been wickedly stirred up by Juno through the agency of the Fury, Allecto.

The Italian spirit is skilfully safeguarded throughout the poem. The numberless allusions to Italian places, stories, or ceremonies which make the Aeneid a storehouse of sacred and patriotic memories must have appealed to the reader of Vergil's day. In the account of the voyage from Troy to Sicily and Italy, the streams and the towns of the Tarentine Gulf, of Sicily, of the Campanian coast, are named as the Trojan exiles pass

⁶On this point see W. Warde Fowler, *Virgil's Gathering of the Clans*, 26-35 (Oxford, Blackwell, 1918).

them. Whenever a legend can be connected with a place, Vergil relates it.

In 8.306-361, Aeneas is escorted around the sacred places of Rome itself—Asylum, Lupercal, Argiletum, Capitol, Palatine, Janiculum. The same patriotic spirit appears in the fondness Vergil shows for tracing back to fanciful or mythical origin the ancient names, Laurentes, Circeii, Aventinus, Alba, Palatinus, Latium, Mantua, or the names of *gentes*, Iulius, Sergius, Atius, Cluentius.

The shield of Aeneas (8.625-731) presents the spectacle of the most momentous crises in the annals of Rome, culminating in the great triumph of Augustus. The pictures on the shield combine prophecy and history. They tell of Rome, of Roman life, and of Roman men. We see the mother-wolf with the Roman twins; the rape of the Sabine women; Porsenna baffled and angered by the boldness of a Coelus and a Cloelia; the Capitol saved by the geese and Manlius; the punishment of Catiline among the dead; and Cato on the throne of Rhadamanthus.

Eight pictures from the earlier history of Rome are followed by four pictures taken from the exploits of Augustus. On the shield are portrayed the last great struggle against the East, at Actium; the marshalling of Augustus and his Italians against Antony and his motley barbarian hordes; the gathering of the gods of Rome and Italy against dog-faced Anubis and the monsters of the East; and the victory of right over wrong, of the Roman over the Oriental spirit.

(3) We now come to the third desire of Augustus, that Vergil should make acceptable to the people the belief that Augustus through the Julian line was descended from the founders of Rome and hence from the gods, and that he was predestined from the ages to rule over Rome in this the greatest period of her prosperity. The passages which indicate this are quite numerous. I shall refer to only a few of them.

Jupiter, comforting Venus in her sorrow over Trojan disaster, says (1.283-296)⁷:

The time shall come, as Rome's years roll on, when the house of Assaracus shall bend to its yoke Phthia and renowned Mycenae, and queen it over vanquished Argos. Then shall be born the child of an illustrious line, one of thine own Trojans, Caesar, born to extend his empire to the ocean, his glory to the stars,—Julius, in name as in blood the heir of great Iulus. Him thou shalt one day welcome in safety to the sky, a warrior laden with Eastern spoils; to him, as to Aeneas, men shall pray and make their vows. In his days war shall cease, and savage times grow mild. Faith with her hoary head, and Vesta, Quirinus, and Remus his brother, shall give law to the world; grim, iron-bound, closely welded, the gates of war shall be closed; the fiend of Discord a prisoner within, seated on a pile of arms deadly as himself, his hands bound behind his back with a hundred brazen chains, shall roar ghastly from his throat of blood.

In the allusion to the closing of the Temple of Janus Vergil clearly has Augustus in mind. Venus may

⁷I use, here and below, Conington's translation. <The most convenient form in which to use this translation is in a book called *The Aeneid of Vergil*, in the English Translation of John Conington, Edited by Francis G. Allinson and Anne C. E. Allinson (Scott, Foresman and Company, Chicago and New York, 1916). The book contains an Introduction (9-45), by the editors, in which Vergil's poetry is admirably discussed. C. K. >

be reassured, for, in spite of the hatred of Juno, the storms of Aeolus, the violence of Turnus, Destiny will have its way. Rome will go forth conquering until, under Augustus, her last conquest complete, she sheathes the sword. The reign of Augustus is thus the crown and the culmination of Roman history. The two heroes—Aeneas sent to Latium to found the race, and Augustus born to regenerate it and complete its work—are brought together from the very beginning of the poem, nor are they ever long separated.

Vergil constantly makes his readers see the divinity of Aeneas showing through his mortal form; he is constantly addressed as 'goddess-born'. Dido, immediately recognizing his divine descent, asks (1.616-617), "Are you, indeed, the famed Aeneas, whom to Anchises the Dardan, Venus, queen of light and love, bore by the stream of Simois?"

Aeneas's divine descent is again taken for granted when Venus, addressing Cupid, speaks of Aeneas as *frater Aeneas*.

The following much quoted simile must refer to Augustus (1.148-153):

Even as when in a great crowd tumult is oft stirred up, and the base herd waxes wild and frantic, and brands and stones are flying already, rage suiting the weapon to the hand—at that moment, should their eyes fall on some man of weight, for duty done and public worth, tongues are hushed and ears fixed in attention, while his words sway the spirit and soothe the breast . . .

The view of society which Vergil delights to present is that of a paternal ruler giving laws to his people and caring for their welfare. His repugnance to the influence of the *popularis aura* is plainly indicated in the foregoing passage.

When Aeneas descends to the lower world, Anchises reveals to him the long line of his descendants (6.756-886). Chief among them is the oft-promised Augustus. In these lines the poet gives us a long list of famous Romans: the Alban kings, Romulus, Numa, Tullus, Ancus, the Tarquin kings, Brutus, the Drusii, Torquatus, and Camillus. Then he mentions Caesar and Pompey, Mummius, Cato, the Gracchi, the Scipios, Fabricius, Serranus (Regulus), and the Fabii. The list must have made very proud the Romans who traced their ancestry back to these men.

Vergil again plays upon this family pride when he tries to link the names of the contestants in the funeral games of Anchises with the names of famous Roman families (e.g. 5.121-123, 568).

In 6.832-835, Anchises, addressing Caesar and Pompey, says:

Do not, do not, my children, make wars like these familiar to your spirits: turn not your country's valor against your country's vitals: and you, restrain yourself the first: you, whose lineage is from heaven, drop the steel from your grasp, heir of Anchises' blood . . .

Later, addressing all the Romans, he says (6.851-853), "Yours, Roman, be the lesson to govern the nations as their lord: this is your destined culture, to impose the settled rule of peace, to spare the humbled, and to crush the proud".

These last lines express with much dignity and

truth the real work of Rome in the world, the work of empire and rule.

The divine descent of the Trojans is recognized constantly throughout the poem and the god-like appearance of Aeneas is frequently mentioned. When Aeneas is wandering about near Carthage after the shipwreck, he thus addresses Venus, who has appeared to him disguised as a huntress (1.378-380): "I am Aeneas, styled the good, who am bearing with me in my fleet the gods of Troy rescued from the foe; a name blazed by rumor above the stars. I am in quest of Italy, looking there for an ancestral home, and a pedigree drawn from high Jove himself". Vergil here emphasizes the fact that Aeneas traced his lineage to his Jove-descended ancestor Dardanus, who ruled once in Etruria. This is a favorite legend with Vergil. In 1.250 Venus, addressing Jupiter, says, ". . . we, of thine own blood, to whom thy nod secures the pinnacle of heaven . . ." Helenus (3.374) addresses Aeneas as 'son of Venus'.

Vergil skilfully connects the family of the Atii, from which Atia, wife of Gaius Octavius and mother of Augustus, was descended, with the Julian *gens*. Witness these lines from the description of the juvenile cavalry-drill of Ascanius and his friends (5.568-569): "Next is Atys, whence comes the house of Roman Atii—Atys the young, the boyish friend of the boy Iulus".

Commenting on this line, Servius says: 'He said this on account of Atia, the mother of Augustus . . ., for Augustus desired his mother's lineage also to be ancient'.

The mention (3.280-283) of the games held on the Actian shores is a skilful compliment to Augustus, who instituted games held every five years at Actium in honor of the victory won there.

In 7.606 we are reminded by the words *Parthosque reponscere signa* that Augustus had recovered the captured Roman standards from the Parthians.

When Ascanius has killed his first enemy, Apollo rejoices with him in these words (9.641-644):

Rejoice, brave youth, in your new-won laurels; 'tis thus men climb the stars; son of gods that are, sire of gods that shall be! Well has Fate ordered that beneath the house of Assaracus the wars of the future shall find their end, nor can Troy contain your prowess.

Vergil deserves much credit for the artistic skill by which, without alienating the reader's sympathy from Dido and her misfortunes, he makes her the seducer, Aeneas the seduced. Henry says⁵:

The Aeneid is not history, but a poem; a poem written, too, by Augustus's *protégé* for the express and avowed purpose of glorifying his patron and protector, and of the hero of which Augustus himself is the prototype⁶. The hero of such a poem must not, could not, be the seducer, could only be the seduced. Even Homer, who was so much more at liberty than Virgil, represents his hero as seduced by, not as the seducer of, Calypso and Circe; and as seduced by, not as

⁵James Henry, *Aeneidea, or Critical, Exegetical, and Aesthetical Remarks on the Aeneis* (4 volumes. London, Williams and Norgate, 1873-1892). See the note on 4.54-55 (2.591).

⁶The words "of the hero . . . prototype" are correctly quoted. Quid significant nescio equidem. Delete of? C. K. >

the seducer of, Dido, Virgil has with his usual tact and felicity represented Aeneas....

In conclusion, it should be said that, though Vergil undoubtedly felt deeply his obligation to Augustus, it is a base calumny to make of him a sort of glorified Martial and to find in favors from Augustus the explanation of all his expressions.

Vergil did not forget Rome in his praise of Augustus. He refused to advertise his patron save as the servant of the nation. He never praises the wealth, the generosity, and the personal success of the Emperor, but praises him as one who has accomplished or is accomplishing great service to mankind. His praise is always exalted and impersonal in character.

One practical example of the result of Vergil's propaganda was in connection with the proposal, at one time entertained by Augustus, to change the seat of the Empire to the East. The three leading writers of the day spoke out against it—Livy, Horace¹⁶, and Vergil.

Vergil's protest is contained in Juno's final speech in the *Aeneid* (see 12.823-825). She promises to abandon her hostility to Aeneas and to acquiesce in the foundation of the Roman race, but she makes three conditions, all of which Jupiter accepts, solemnly and precisely: first, that the Latin people is not to change its name, second, that the Latin people is not to change its language, third, that the Latin people is not to change its fashion of dress. The Latins are to remain Latins; they are not to become Trojans. 'In dust lies Troy; there leave it and its name'.

This is the climax of the epic story. It is a protest against substituting an oriental despotism for the limited principate which Augustus was learning to build up on the basis of Republican traditions. Sulla, Lucullus, Pompey, Caesar, and Mark Antony had all succumbed to the lure of the East, and the oriental traditions of unbridled monarchy had drowned in them the sober instinct of Roman statesmen and soldiers.

Vergil was, then, really sincere. He was an Italian, and as such had no love for the old order, which had stood to Italians as symbolic of oppression of every kind. Vergil, moreover, had no desire for political life. For many years his people had been governed, and they never had had any share in the inner movement of Roman political life. Hence Vergil did not miss the political freedom of the old days.

He had every reason for being intensely loyal to the Julian line. He was himself the child of the Empire. Julius Caesar, who had given Vergil's own provincial people their political position, was Vergil's youthful hero and he was prepared to find in Caesar's house the savior of society and the guiding star of Rome.

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A DETAIL OF CONSTRUCTION

IN THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 19.109 Professor Knapp gives three instances (one possible and two certain) in which Vergil begins and ends a passage with a de-

¹⁶Horace's protest is contained in Carm. 1.14, and 3.3.57-60. For an effective presentation of the idea that, in these Odes, Horace is registering such a protest, see the paper by Dr. Walter Leaf, discussed in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.147, 150-151. C. K. >

scription of the same picture or an expression of the same thought, reverting to his original idea after allowing a second thought to intervene.

I have just remarked an example of much the same sort in Horace, *Sermiones* 1.1.23-27:

Praeterea, ne sic ut qui iocularia ridens
percurram—quamquam ridenter dicere verum
quid vetat, ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi
doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima?
sed tamen amoto queramus seria ludo.

We may compare Professor Morris's note:

"The thought is twice reversed: 'I will treat this matter seriously, not jokingly; and yet I might properly treat it jokingly, for a joke may sugar-coat a serious purpose, like the candies that teachers sometimes give to children; but, all the same (*tamen*), I prefer now to keep to my original plan and treat the matter seriously'."

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LIGHT WANTED ON THE VERB VOLO

Pliny, N. H. 10.151, speaking of fertile and infertile eggs, says: *et in aqua est experimentum: inane fluitat, itaque sidentia, hoc est plena, subici volunt.* The meaning of *volunt* here seems to be like that of English *want* in such a sentence as 'You want to look out for danger', that is, 'You need to look out', 'You ought to look out', 'You must look out'.

I have not been able to find any parallel to this use of the word. If any one knows such a parallel, I shall be grateful for the reference.

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THE CLASSICAL CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA

The 185th regular meeting of The Classical Club of Philadelphia was held on Friday evening, March 12, at the Princeton Club. Professor Robert C. Horn, of Muhlenberg College, read a paper entitled *Waste Paper and Broken Dishes*. The paper dealt with the papyri and the *ostraka*. A general description of the nature and value of these finds was followed by a number of interesting selections from them, presented in translation. The selections were necessarily limited to short documents of personal, historic, and economic interest: prayers, invitations, menus, official notices, business statements, and private letters of the most intimate nature.

B. W. MITCHELL, *Secretary*

A SAPPHIC REMINISCENCE

On page 242 of Miss Willa Cather's fine new novel, *The Professor's House* (New York, 1925), occurs the following passage: "I stood outside the cabin until the gold light went blue and a few stars came out, hardly brighter than the blue sky they twinkled in, and the swallows came flying over us, on their way to their nests in the cliffs. It was the time of day when everything goes home".

One wonders whether this is an echo, either conscious or unconscious, of part of the famous fragment of Sappho (Hiller-Crusius 93; Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca* 149 (= Volume 1, page 284¹)). Mr. Edmonds translates the fragment as follows: "Evening Star that bringest back all that lightsome dawn hath scattered afar, thou bringest the sheep, thou bringest the goat, thou bringest her child home to the mother . . ."

If this is not a reminiscence of Sappho, the likeness of thought is none the less interesting.

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¹I note that in the Bohn Library translation of Pliny, by John Bostock and H. T. Riley (1885), 2.535, the words quoted above are translated as follows: "There is also a way of testing them by water; an empty egg will float on the surface, while those that fall to the bottom, or, in other words, are full, should be placed under the hen". C. K. >

²For Mr. Edmonds's *Lyra Graeca* (Loeb Classical Library, 2 volumes), see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 16.185-186, 18.169.